By Any Other Name—*Willard Shelton*

THE *Nation*

September 1, 1951

How Democratic Is Japan?

BY HUGH H. SMYTHE

*

Germany Today: III

Boom in the Ruhr

BY MARK GAYN

*

Incident in Austria - - - - - - - - *R. Wuliger*

Look Homeward, Senator - - *Brownie Lee Jones*

The Gide of the Novels - - - - *Henri Peyre*

They Shall Be Free - - - - *Rayford W. Logan*

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"CANADA NOT A COLONY"

[*The American press has not given much space to the significant reaction in Canada to the attempt to "smear" E. Herbert Norman, acting chief of Canada's delegation to the United Nations, at a recent hearing of the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is "investigating" the Institute of Pacific Relations. The editorials reprinted on this page make it quite clear that the reference to Mr. Norman was not inadvertent. They also give some measure of the indignation which this incident has aroused in Canada.*]

The Contemptible Attack On Mr. Norman

THE Canadian government has cleared Mr. E. H. Norman, acting chief of Canada's delegation to the United Nations, of the Communist taint smeared on him by the United States Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee. In so far as Canadians are concerned—and that is all that matters—the incident in which Mr. Norman has become involved may be considered closed. Yet three points of principle arising from the insinuations made against Mr. Norman may properly be discussed.

Mr. Norman's name was mentioned during a hearing of the committee. Mr. Robert Morris, the committee's chief counsel had asked a witness, Dr. Karl August Wittfogel, what he knew of Mr. Norman. The witness had named Mr. Norman as a man who belonged to a "Communist Party student group at Cape Cod in 1939." Dr. Wittfogel has said that "it was obvious" that Mr. Norman was a Communist at the time. Dr. Wittfogel himself is a former Communist. The result of this statement was sensational headlines in the newspapers.

Mr. Norman says he had never been to Cape Cod, and in 1938 and 1939 was in New York on a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship. Between 1942 and 1947 he attended several meetings of the Institute of Pacific Relations, as a representative of the Canadian government. The I. P. R. is presently under investigation by the United States Congress, which is trying to prove that it is a Communist-inspired organization. Friends of the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek government of Nationalist China, known as the China Lobby, are reported to be behind this investigation. Some I. P. R. studies have been unfavorable to the Chiang Kai-shek regime, as any scholar who has the best interests of the free world at heart must be. This is the background to the flimsy allegations made against Mr. Norman.

The attack on Mr. Norman is also an assault on certain principles for which the United States is supposed to stand, and for which the free world is being asked to fight. First, it attacks the principle that there cannot be guilt by association. A man should be able to attend whatever meetings he pleases, read whatever he wishes, listen to whatever discussions interest him, associate with whomever he desires, without necessarily being considered as subscribing to the views of the persons with whom he associates.

The second great principle under attack here is that of national sovereignty. If a committee of the United States Congress feels that a member of the Canadian civil service endangers United States security, then that should be a problem for the Canadian authorities to handle. By trying to deal with it themselves, the United States Congressmen show as much contempt for Canada's sovereignty as the Soviet Union does for Bulgaria's. Treating Canada as a satellite is not the kind of basis on which a coalition of free countries can be solidly built.

The attack on the third principle involved is the most contemptible of all. In Washington, apparently, denunciation, character assassination, and partisan politics replace the sober, detached methods generally associated with a search for truth. United States Senators would do the cause of world freedom a great service if they confined their star-chamber procedures to their own citizens.

—*From the Ottawa* Morning Citizen, *August 11, 1951.*

The Smear Comes North

WHATEVER else it may be necessary to do in the case of Mr. E. Herbert Norman, the Federal Government should protest strongly to Washington against the manner in which this Canadian diplomat was "smeared" with allegations of Communist sympathies. Canadians want no part of the current Washington witch-hunt. They are justifiably resentful when some of the red paint being splashed about for the edification of Congress comes flying across the border. If American authorities have any cause for suspicion of a Canadian public servant, there is a method of conveying the information without risking injustice to the person involved. . . . Canada has diplomatic relations with the U. S. There is no iron curtain. . . .

This is, of course, not the first time that persons in authority in Washington have behaved as if Canada were a poor relation living in the porter's lodge of Uncle Sam's estate. In the period of Britain's world leadership Ottawa used to be touchy about what it regarded as London interference in Canadian affairs. Almost any British suggestion, no matter how proper the channel of communication, was likely to meet resentment. The men of Whitehall and Downing Street were shrinking violets, they were models of consideration and punctilio, by comparison with the men of Washington with whom Canada now has to deal on many matters of common concern. The spectacle of a British Parliamentary committee inquiring into the loyalty of a Canadian civil servant, at the behest of one Dr. Karl Wittfogel, would be unbelievable even in a comic opera. . . . What Canadians complain about is an attitude of total indifference, or perhaps it is oblivion, to the existence of Canada as a separate and distinct nation with its own separate and distinct opinions, interests, and systems of law.

In the case of Mr. Norman, there is a sharp cleavage on the right way to handle an urgent public question. Canada is as anxious as the United States to keep Communists out of key positions. . . . The American people may believe that a public inquiry, with names freely bandied about and reputations freely damaged, is the right method. The fact that Canadians do not agree is, perhaps, something Washington neither knows about nor cares a hoot about. Granting that, it is still up to Washington, in common courtesy, to let us do our own probing in our own way.

—*From the Toronto* Globe and Mail, *August 11, 1951.*

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

THREE CRUCIAL TESTS OF THE GEORGIA county unit system of electing governors were successfully passed by the Talmadge forces during July. A travesty of the Presidential Electoral College, the system is based upon obsolete population figures which give sparsely settled rural counties an inordinate number of unit votes as compared to more populous urban counties; it has often brought about the election of a governor whose opponent received a majority of the popular vote. Federal-court decisions outlawing the "white" primary are responsible for the recent efforts to void the county unit system. In an unprecedented suit R. E. Martin of Savannah executed a deed conveying a lot to Dr. C. B. Gosnell, head of Emory University's Political Science department, on condition that the county unit system is constitutional; if it is unconstitutional, title of the land would go to State Representative James R. Wood! The suit was dismissed on the ground that the condition was improper, but both sides will appeal. In another suit, brought against Georgia Democratic officials, Edward T. Methvin, editor of the Dodge County *Advertiser,* contends that the county unit system "devalues" his vote. This suit has also been dismissed, but an appeal is being taken. The same Methvin caused quite a stir some time ago when he erected a street banner which read: "First We Had Sherman. Now We Got Herman." Also dismissed was a suit by W. M. Cox, a Cherokee County farmer, who maintained that the county unit system gave Negroes disproportionate political power in the forty-six counties in which Negroes constitute the majority—thus depriving him, "as a white man," of equality under the law.

*

DESPITE THESE TESTS OF THE COUNTY UNIT system, the Talmadge forces are clinging to the time-honored means of keeping rural Negroes from the polls —economic compulsion and KKK terrorism. Rural Negroes who dare to vote may find themselves deprived of leases, homes, jobs, credit, or even their lives—witness the lynchings of Robert Mallard and Isaiah Nixon following recent elections. With at least one active Klavern in each of the state's 169 counties, they are so thoroughly "kluxed" that the Talmadge forces believe they can have their county unit system and quasi-white primaries too. Remembering Ole Gene Talmadge's famous boast: "I can carry any county that ain't got street cars," Young Hummon Talmadge has ignored all suggestions that the county unit system be "modified." He even sought a constitutional amendment to extend the system to the general election, but this move was defeated in last year's referendum. He has now proposed to the legislature that no candidate shall be eligible to participate in a general election who has not been nominated in a primary governed by the county unit system. The vote on this proposal will come up in 1952. Regardless of the attacks on the county unit system, Young Hummon carries on in the best tradition of his father. Georgia's elections may not be lily-white, he says, but "they'll be as white as we can get them."

*

CHARLES E. WILSON, DIRECTOR OF DEFENSE Mobilization, has declared a sixty-day moratorium on the issuance of further certificates of necessity for tax-amortization benefits in order to permit a review of "administrative procedures and of the criteria on which certificates are to be granted and percentages determined." The moratorium is welcome news, but it fails to correct the abuses inherent in this "the biggest bonanza that ever came down the government pike" (see Bonanza Unlimited, in *The Nation* of June 30). In the first place, the moratorium was declared too late; most of the damage has already been done. Certificates have been issued on 2,464 projects for defense-plant expansions costing in all $7,721,975,741. But more important than the tax advantages conferred by certificates of necessity is their effect on the prices of the products which the firms receiving them sell to the government. Under the Renegotiation Act of 1951 all items allowable as deductions and exclusions for tax purposes are allowed as items of cost in renegotiation. The government, of course, is the principal if not the only purchaser of the products manufactured by the new facilities whose construction the accelerated amortization program is supposed to "encourage." The government, therefore, will not only be forgoing tax revenue to get the new facility built but will be bearing practically the full cost of construction through paying legally sanctioned higher prices for the products manufactured. This latter "gouge" will not be in any way checked by the moratorium.

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ENCOURAGED BY CONTINUING PROOFS OF American friendship, Generalissimo Franco is preparing to extract from this country three times the amount of money proposed in the report of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee after its recent visit to Europe. The report recommended a sum of $200,000,000 in military aid and a like amount in economic assistance to Spain. While going along with the popular rationale that Spain offers "strategic and material potential" in the event of attack by Russia, the report contained a significant admission: "Yet many people do question whether the acquisition of such an ally is worth the price that would be extracted by way of compromising the moral and spiritual values shared by the free nations of the Atlantic area." The Foreign Relations Committee suppressed this comment along with a paragraph likening Spain to Yugoslavia and then approved an allocation of $400,000,000. But apparently this is not enough to satisfy the Spanish dictator. Reliable reports from Madrid indicate that the Spanish government has set its minimum needs at $750,000,000. That was the figure, we recall, mentioned by the Banco Urquijo in its report on the amount required to insure Spain's economic recovery. Owen Brewster, Republican Senator from Maine, admitted that he was responsible for expunging these sections from the subcommittee's report. Not only that, but the gentleman from Down East indicated that in spite of the wishes of the people who live in the North Atlantic community, the United States will insist upon Franco's early admission into N. A. T. O.

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A STAFF REPORT OF THE EXPENDITURES Committee of the Senate calls attention to the extravagance, friction, and overlapping to be found in current Congressional investigations. From January, 1947, to January, 1951, Congress spent $6,805,000 on special investigations. In the first five months of this year the Senate alone ran up a bill of $1,167,720 for special investigations, and this does not include the $10,000 investigations fund allocated to each standing committee in every Congress. At this session of the Eighty-second Congress six legislative probes have been completed, fifteen are in progress, and twelve additional ones have been proposed. But the current craze for investigations can be indicted on more serious counts than extravagance. Congress has shown an increasing tendency to build up huge transcripts and to engage in hearings which do not directly relate to pending legislation. Members of Congress cannot attend to their many duties and responsibilities and give even a portion of their time to a study of the investigations which have been undertaken in recent months. The more Congress investigates, the less work it seems to get done. The staff report suggests that many special inquiries might well be undertaken by the subcommittee of the Commit-

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tee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, which has a staff of well-trained investigators, lawyers, and experts. If a central body were used for special inquiries, it might be possible to establish certain minimum standards and procedures which would eliminate much of the criticism that has been leveled at Congressional investigations.

*

THE FUNCTION OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS Commission is to screen persons eligible for this special type of immigration, to bring the D. P.'s over, and to establish them in this country. Much of the domestic program is carried out by voluntary accredited agencies. Recently the commission discovered that several of the voluntary agencies had contracts with the Social Service Employees Union, Local 19, the leadership of which has been cited as Communist-dominated. The commission at once issued a fiat that the voluntary agencies must cease to have contractual relationships with Local 19 or suffer loss of accreditation. The agencies have complied, the workers have no contracts, and the union is now pressing an injunction suit against the commission. The commission may or may not have a case, but it was guilty of a brand of authoritarianism when it proceeded as though the fact at issue had been proved. Once again it is the story of the Atomic Energy Commission, General Electric, and the United Electrical Workers, without even the saving element of close proximity to defense operations. The rule applied in these situations now seems to be: any government agency can demand that cooperating private organizations denounce their labor contracts by simply asserting that its work involves national security and that the union in question is run by Communists. Since most activities nowadays touch on national security in some form, workers by the thousand may awake to find themselves ingeniously divested of the hard-won rights and gains of collective bargaining.

*

THE COMMODITY EXCHANGE AUTHORITY has just imposed firm limits on speculative trading in soybeans—and thereby hangs a tale. Several weeks before the outbreak of the Korean War, a group of Chinese in this country virtually cornered the soybean market on the Chicago Board of Trade. Before the Chinese got out of the market they had cleared an estimated profit of $30,000,000 and had raised the price of soybeans to American consumers from $2.31 to $3.45 a bushel. The names of the Chinese who participated in the soybean market-rigging are known to the Department of Agriculture but the law forbids their publication. It is known, however, that one of the wealthy but lesser-known relatives of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, living in this country, held approximately 500,000 bushels and that a Chinese woman in New York held approximately 1,000,000 bushels. It is also known that some fifty-one individuals with Chinese names were involved and that most of them were active Chinese Nationalists. The attention of the Department of Agriculture was first drawn to this interesting transaction by the excessive interest which a group of resident Chinese seemed to be showing in soybeans on the eve of the Korean War. This interest, it is said, "aroused official suspicions . . . that they had had advance knowledge of a war that caught this country wholly unprepared" (New York *Times*, July 6). The suspicion remains, and the American public is certainly entitled to know who these Chinese were, how they happened to have advance notice of the likelihood of war in Korea, and the source of the funds which were so profitably used in cornering the soybean market. Of special interest is the fact that the huge sums advanced to the Chinese Nationalists included $200,000,000 in "hard gold." Members of Congress and government officials have publicly charged that as much as the full amount of this credit found its way back into this country and ended up in the accounts of wealthy resident Chinese. The "investigation" of the Institute of Pacific Relations merely points up the fear of the China Lobby that the spotlight, after veering erratically on various irrelevant targets, may yet be focused where it belongs: on the activities of the China Lobby.

*

AN EMPLOYER CAPABLE OF MIXING HUMOR with intransigence during his next round of labor negotiations might refer to the recent statement of Dr. Karl Menninger, head of the Menninger Psychiatric Foundation in Topeka, Kansas. Speaking before an upstate New York audience, the one-time adviser to the Surgeon General of the United States Army pointed out the danger endemic in such contractual provisions as the retirement plan and the paid vacation. Desire for a vacation is just "a psychological symptom in nice evening clothes," he shrugged. Furthermore, "when most people go on a vacation they are taking a rest from a winter of doing nothing." Although retirement plans might be desired by trade unions, Dr. Menninger feels they are not conducive to "sound mental health." "Vacational and leisure time tend to push people into imaginary worlds."

*

THE TECHNIQUE OF POLITICAL CRIME detection is daily becoming more refined. Lie detectors, Dean Acheson now admits, have been in use for some time in determining the loyalty of State Department personnel. The machines are doubtless wheeled into action during the oral part of the foreign-service examination when the testers come to the big question: "Are you now or have you ever been . . . ?" Taking a leaf from the government's book, private enterprise is also

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putting the lie detector to novel uses. Banking and insurance firms in particular, according to the *Wall Street Journal* of July 30, are using the machines to detect the craven "subversives" who peddle trade secrets to competitors. In the hands of Harry Jung and J. B. Matthews, who now "screen" employees for a modest fee, the lie detector can probably insure elimination of the last quivering heretic from industrial and commercial employment. But the use of this ingenious device should not be limited; it might be applied to Senator McCarthy when next he swears, on his honor as a gentleman and a Senator, that he has a list of twenty-nine or fifty-seven "subversives" in the State Department.

The Remington Reversal

THE United States Court of Appeals, in a unanimous decision, has reversed the conviction of William W. Remington arising out of a charge of perjury based on a denial of membership in the Communist Party.

As the basic reason for the reversal the court cited the "inadequacy" of Judge Gregory F. Noonan's charge to the jury on the question of membership. Although Judge Noonan told the jury that "the act of joining" the Communist Party was crucial, he failed to specify what particular overt acts, if taken as true, could be accepted as proof of membership. Criticizing the charge as "vague and indefinite," the court pointed out that in reliance on it the jury might have assumed that they were free to convict on circumstantial evidence alone, despite the recital, in other portions of the charge, of the rule which requires the testimony of two witnesses or of one corroborated witness in perjury prosecutions.

Although the decision may seem to be narrowly limited, it does establish important safeguards against abuses implicit in this type of prosecution. To be sure, the court did not define membership, but it did place upon the trial judge the burden of specifying what facts, if found to be true, a jury might accept as proof of membership. In effect, the court held that membership in the Communist Party is not some mystical communion but a fact which should be capable of fairly precise proof and which, like any essential fact, must actually be established and not assumed. Juries, in other words, are not at liberty to decide that a defendant *must* have been a member in the light of purely circumstantial evidence.

To strengthen its conclusion, the court gave certain important directives in case a retrial should be ordered. The defense had urged, as a ground for reversal, that the witness Elizabeth Bentley was being assisted in writing a book on communism by the foreman of the grand jury which returned the indictment. The court held that this relationship did not in itself warrant a reversal but might be improper if it could be shown that the foreman had abused his powers or used undue influence in securing the indictment. The court also ruled that the defense was entitled to inspect the minutes of Remington's testimony before the grand jury, and that Remington should be furnished with a bill of particulars setting forth the facts upon which the prosecution intended to rely as proof of his membership in the party. In a most significant passage the court emphasized that the prosecution had been permitted to range so far afield that Remington, even at the conclusion of the government's case, did not know what issues he had to meet; he could only guess what facts the prosecution would cite as proof of membership.

During the trial United States Attorney Irving H. Saypol had brought out the fact that a defense witness had legally changed his name from Rothenberg to Redmont, for professional reasons. He continued to harp on this fact in his cross-examination long after it had become abundantly clear that the change of name had no relevance to the issues. In a sharp admonition to Mr. Saypol, the court pointed out that this emphasis "could only serve to arouse possible racial prejudice on the part of the jury." The court also criticized Judge Noonan for permitting Mr. Saypol to make numerous references to the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, holding that "the list is a purely heresay declaration. . . . It could have no conceivable tendency to prove the defendant's alleged perjury even if it were shown that he belonged to some or all of the organizations listed."

Written by Chief Judge Thomas W. Swan, who has never shown any special solicitude for civil liberties, and concurred in by Judges Augustus N. Hand and Learned Hand, the decision reflects a gradual stiffening of judicial resistance to the notion that established procedures should be set aside in "political" prosecutions and to the companion notion that the courts should condone, in such cases, the "lawless enforcement of the law."

A Treaty with the Past

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

UNTIL the Soviet Union horrified Washington by accepting its invitation to the Japanese Treaty Conference, the State Department had reason to expect that those who came would sign without argument and then possibly disperse. All the nations invited had at least been given a look at the treaty, a good many had been consulted, and a few strong objections had actually been taken care of in the final draft. The result pleased nobody much, including the United States. But since the United States had said the conference was to be merely a ceremonial signing, it was assumed that any remaining doubts, disagreements, or improvements would go unvoiced.

Russia's acceptance has blasted those hopes. The treaty will be signed, but not until some delegates have

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said things they originally intended to repress and Mr. Gromyko and his colleagues have said what they came to say. The treaty's weak points will have been lifted out for inspection and its good points will have to fight for the spotlight instead of occupying the whole stage as had been planned. This will happen no matter how many rules are drawn up to prevent debate, limit the number and length of speeches, and prohibit suggestions to change the treaty. The rules themselves, most people in Washington agree, will be the first objective of Soviet attack; and on this point Gromyko may have considerable support, for many nations resent the steamroller procedure planned by the State Department.

If he uses his opportunity well Gromyko will also win backing for several of his substantive objections. Obviously the United States, as sponsor of the treaty, could not ask the Peking government to be a signer; its decision to leave out both the Chinese Communists and Chiang Kai-shek was an attempt to avoid an issue that might have wrecked both conference and treaty. Just the same China's absence creates a monstrous vacuum which is exaggerated rather than diminished by the quaint provision that Japan shall itself decide which Chinese regime it will make peace with. (Premier Yoshida has apparently turned down this dubious privilege, since he told the Japanese Parliament the other day that the decision was strictly up to the Allied powers.) Russia has a ready-made issue in China's exclusion, for no one can possibly argue that Japan will achieve a normal peacetime existence until it establishes relations with its great Asian neighbor.

The United States hoped to duck another explosive problem by a provision detaching Formosa from Japan but not explicitly restoring it to China. Here too Gromyko can rally important support for a demand that the plain promise made at Cairo, and repeated at Potsdam, be written into the Japanese treaty. He won't win on this, but he will have a good case and the advantage that the American attitude on Formosa, now embodied in large-scale military assistance to Chiang, has been opposed from the start by most of our Western allies as well as by the friendly Asian nations.

But certainly the strongest issue the Russians will have is that of unlimited Japanese rearmament. The reparations issue may appeal more concretely to the sense of injury and outrage still dominating the countries which were overrun by Japan. But fear of Japanese militarism is a deeper anad more permanent emotion. It is an emotion Russia itself shares. And in Asia at least this fear will not be mitigated by the arrangement to keep American forces in Japan. On the contrary, Asia will regard any permanent United States garrison in Japan and the neighboring islands as a new installment of the old story of Western domination. The United States may partly allay the anxiety of Australia and New Zealand by the mutual defense treaty just signed. The Philippines too, though with greater misgivings, will doubtless take comfort in the pact which binds this country to come to its aid in case of attack. But the free nations of Asia would still prefer to take their chances with Russia and China than with a determined Japan buttressed by American troops and war machinery established on Japanese territory.

This has been one of the strongest motives behind the refusal of India and Burma to come to San Francisco. Prime Minister Nehru believes that the proposed Japanese treaty violates the principle of "Asia for the Asians," particularly in its provision for "stationing or retention" of foreign troops in Japan, but also by permitting American occupation of the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands, and by failing to stipulate the return of Formosa to China, at least at some future date. To attend the conference and oppose these provisions would align India with Russia against the West. To remain away and refuse to sign enables the New Delhi government to avoid an open clash with the United States but does not disguise the depth of its difference. In fact Russia can use India's absence to point up Asia's profound suspicion of Western motives. In this connection Gromyko may be expected to emphasize Russia's own role as one of the three great Asian powers in order to expose the unreality of a Japanese peace to which Russia, China, and India will not be parties.

To answer this by reminding Asia that the revolutionary force of the Chinese-Russian alliance threatens to engulf the whole continent and that only a powerful United States, firmly based on island strongholds off the Asian coast can defend the area, will be to raise more doubts than are dispelled. Even the Korean war, though it gave evidence both of Communist aggression and of American power and will to repel it, has increased Asia's doubts. Russia's part in touching off the conflict was at least inconspicuous and unacknowledged, and China's intervention was accepted in much of Asia as a move to defend its own borders. While the attitude of the United States on Formosa, on the role of Syngman Rhee, on France in Indo-China; the destructive power of arms in Korea; and, perhaps above all, the racial antagonisms between Americans and Koreans—combine to give Russia the chance it will doubtless exploit to the limit of its ability at San Francisco.

The treaty that will be signed there is a weak one, not because it is "generous" to Japan, but because it embodies many of the relationships Asia most dislikes and fears. That we have made such a treaty, partly out of our own dislike and fear of Russia, is an ironic fact, but one which will not greatly influence the feelings of peoples who, having fought the Japanese and won, now demand freedom from foreign interference of all sorts—even interference in their own defense.

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By Any Other Name, McCarthyism

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, August 23

THE biggest new show in this investigation-happy capital is Senator Pat McCarran's personally conducted subcommittee set up to investigate subversion, communism, conspiracy, America's intellectual life in the nineteen thirties, and the Truman Administration. The aged McCarran, presiding over the committee like a white-crested, impassive, but faintly malicious kewpie doll, is in an excellent position to give Mr. Truman the works.

The other day, during the committee's investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Senator McCarran's impassivity cracked briefly to reveal a vein of humor. A witness had testified that an alleged former Communist colleague, one Finklestein, had changed his name to Finley and was now teaching in an Eastern college. "What name did you say this man was using?" McCarran asked, interrupting to get this vital matter clearly in his mind. "Finley," repeated the witness. The Senator brooded briefly and then said, "He would take an Irish name, wouldn't he?" And across the guarded face flickered for a moment the tight little glimmer of a self-congratulatory smile.

The McCarran committee is operating under a self-imposed discipline with a minimum of uproar, and this superficial restraint has led some ordinarily astute observers to imagine that its procedures are "objective" and that it intends to steer clear of "McCarthyism." No television cameras profane the small Judiciary Committee meeting room in which the hearings are held in preference to the ornate spaciousness of the caucus room used for most big shows. No "live" radio coverage is permitted; no photographers' flash bulbs blind the witnesses; and McCarran's manner toward Robert Morris, the committee's counsel, is as distant as a judge's attitude toward a prosecutor. But nobody should be fooled by this judicial atmosphere.

The subcommittee was handpicked by McCarran to seize the Communist-chasing hunting grounds long staked out for its own by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Morris is the Republican who served last year as minority counsel for the Tydings committee. Many of the investigators are men hostile to the Administration and to the people smeared last year by Joe McCarthy. So far as the committee's objectives can be judged by its operations, it seeks to prove that the White House itself during Roosevelt's administration was penetrated by traitors and pro-Russians, and to get perjury indictments against celebrated McCarthy victims, including Owen Lattimore and Joseph Barnes.

If its consequences were not so serious, the jealous jousting between the McCarran committee and the reliable red-chasers of the House Un-American committee would seem ludicrous. Staff members of the latter told reporters that they hastily called on Oliver Edmund Clubb, a State Department employee, to explain acts and letters dredged up from two decades ago, in order to beat McCarran to the punch. Major General Charles A. Willoughby, MacArthur's chief of intelligence in Tokyo, was summoned with equal urgency to tell his tale about the Sorge spy ring in Japan. One staff member of Un-American, noting that McCarran had ruled that hearsay testimony would be permitted in the investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations, grimly remarked, "If we had wanted to use hearsay, we could have built up a tremendous list of names."

The temper and approach of McCarran's committee were indicated from the beginning by its membership. McCarran himself not only sponsored the law for the control of subversive activities passed over President Truman's veto last year but prevented independent investigation of the effects of this law by the Nimitz Commission. A long-time chauvinist, he has been a bitter enemy of Mr. Truman ever since the President successfully campaigned for revisions in the "anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic" refugee law passed under McCarran's leadership in the Eightieth Congress. McCarran's Democratic colleagues are the Dixiecrat Senator Eastland of Mississippi, Senator O'Connor of Maryland, and Willis Smith of North Carolina, the anti-Truman Democrat who obtained the seat of Frank Graham. The three Republicans are Ferguson of Michigan, Jenner of Indiana, and Watkins of Utah. Not a man in the group would ever sign a "declaration of conscience" against McCarthyism or ask probing questions of a "friendly" witness—that is, any former Communist willing to brand a helpless victim as someone about whom some other person, now dead or abroad, allegedly used a phrase which the witness vaguely recollects as damning.

According to report, the committee has heard some forty "friendly" witnesses and has taken as yet unpublished testimony from some of their victims. At the

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public hearings, which are scheduled to be held twice a week, the "friendly" witnesses will be given full scope to utter their hearsay accusations, while their targets will be unable to present their defense until the prosecution's case has been in the headlines for months.

McCarran's standards of objectivity are disclosed by a just-passed report warning that as many as 5,000,000 aliens, "including militant Communists, Sicilian bandits, and other criminals," are illegally resident in this country. The New York *Times* promptly pointed out that the only foreigner who doesn't seem to frighten McCarran to death is Francisco Franco, and that such "hair-raising statements" do nothing but feed latent fears that "ought to have been buried with the Know-Nothings a hundred years ago." In actual fact more than 95 per cent of the 685,000 persons deported or "voluntarily" departing from this country last year as illegal residents were unhappy Mexican "wetbacks" exploited by farmers and ranchers of our own Southwest.

One evil of such an investigation as McCarran's is that it seeks to destroy people in 1951 because of associations, ideas, intellectual curiosity, or isolated contacts they may have had in the vastly different climate of the thirties. Few people in the thirties or during the war years felt, as many feel today, the menace of a revolutionary world ferment manipulated by the Soviets with a powerful army and air force at their disposal. Yet authors are forced to explain isolated paragraphs and sentences in the books they wrote in the earlier period, private citizens and officials are compelled to account for what then were trivial actions, in the savage drive of politicians against intellectuals whom by the nature of things they can never understand.

In the rat race between the Senate and House Un-American committees, the abuses inherent in this type of investigation will certainly be magnified. From Martin Dies to Patrick "McCarthy" McCarran, inquisitors have come and gone, but the witch hunt continues, snaring more victims, manufacturing new heresies, mounting steadily in virulence. The big new show in Washington is the same old witch hunt, but it becomes more menacing with each new performance.

There is not much room for doubt about the political purposes which the current investigations are intended to serve. At their present pace, the hearings will probably continue through December and may well carry over into 1952. Thus twice a week for a period of months carefully timed headlines will hammer home the unstated but clearly implied line that a Republican sympathetic to MacArthur's views should succeed Mr. Truman. But the hearings also serve another purpose. On the eve of the San Francisco conference on the Japanese peace treaty, the China Lobby has not only successfully staved off an investigation into its own activities but has succeeded in lessening the effectiveness of its critics.

Incident in Austria

BY R. WULIGER

London, August 18

I WONDER whether all of you," the British Foreign Secretary asked the Soviet people in the columns of Pravda on August 1, "can honestly say that you have this same sense of personal security which every British citizen enjoys." Within twenty-four hours British citizens bound for Berlin, carrying valid passports, were refused permission to land at Dieppe.

"If you were . . . free to travel to Britain, this ignorance [of how the rest of the world lives and thinks] could be broken down," said Mr. Morrison. Within forty-eight hours other British citizens were refused freedom to travel through France and Belgium.

"In Britain we set great store by such manifestations of personal freedom. Among them is the freedom from arbitrary arrest." Just four days after Mr. Morrison's words were read in Russia, 350-odd British delegates and observers traveling to the Berlin Youth Festival through Austria were arbitrarily halted and turned back by military officers of Britain's main Western ally, the United States.

Proper immigration forms had been filled out; group visas had been granted; passports were in order. Yet British citizens were forced off trains by American soldiers, locked up in a barbed-wire compound, and, in some cases, denied the right to see their consul.

British citizens who want to visit the Soviet zone are supposed to carry "gray cards," but a UNESCO 1951 brochure called "Travel Abroad" says that gray cards are "not required for transit of the three western zones," and the group bound for the Berlin Youth Festival had received assurances that the gray cards would not be needed in East Berlin. In fact, the British consul at Innsbruck and the embassy at Vienna has said that gray cards are not necessary for travel to Linz on the border of East Germany. The concern was less with cards than with young people going to Berlin.

The results? Colin Sweet, assaulted by an American officer, required eight stitches above one eye. June Watson, knocked down by a passing train, is in the hospital with a concussion. Others were injured. Some 350 British citizens can now tell their friends how it feels to be arbitrarily arrested. Splendid headlines and pictures have been provided for the *Daily Worker*.

The last of this incident will not be heard for some time. What will it cost the Voice of America to counteract the free propaganda presented to the Soviets by such irresponsible stupidity?

R. WULIGER has done graduate work at the University of California and is now studying at the London School of Economics.

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How Democratic Is Japan?

BY HUGH H. SMYTHE

Hikone City, Japan, August 17

NOW that a peace treaty is about to be signed with Japan, the question arises: Just how democratic is Japan? After almost six years of occupation and the official acceptance of democratic forms, what significant changes have taken place in the *mores* of the Japanese?

The current scene offers ample evidence to refute the claims of both Japanese and Occupation "authorities" that democracy flourishes in Japan. Of fundamental importance is the fact that the intrenched class system with its age-old sanctions is still intact. People continue to speak casually of "superiors" and "inferiors"; different grammatical forms are used in addressing persons of higher, equal, or lower social status. Women are still consigned to a lower place; marriages continue to be arranged with little deference to the wishes of the principals, especially the women, and even Christian churches generally seat women in a separate section. The language of democracy may have been adopted by officials, but its principles have not been accepted by the majority of the population, who do very much as they have done for generations.

As the Prime Minister's Review Committee goes about the task of reevaluating various post-war laws and ordinances, claims are made that this or that law must be revised or abolished because it is not suited to "the actual situation here." But the three or four years that these laws have been in force is too short a time in which to test their workability. The National Public Safety Commission and the Public Utilities Commission, for example, which, among others, are slated to be eliminated, have not had a chance to become effective in the present bureaucratic structure. The first never had sufficient authority to do a job, and the second is headed by men too closely connected with the electric industry to give primary attention to the public interest. The National Personnel Authority has been condemned as being "unadaptable" largely because it has impinged on the intrenched bureaucracy. Democratic reforms were supposed to create "new conditions" which would help the Japanese eliminate feudalistic survivals, but as it has worked out, old conditions have been permitted to sabotage democratic reforms.

In addition to returning to public life such prominent persons as ex-Finance Minister Ishibashi, former Police Chief Tanikawa, the former president of the Liberal Party, Ichio Hatoyama, and important members of the old Zaibatsu, the Yoshida government has "depurged" former officers and directors of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and its affiliated Youth Association, press and news-agency leaders, magazine and book publishers, Japan Broadcasting Corporation officers, motion-picture and theatrical company directors, bank and business executives, branch chiefs of the Imperial Reservists' Association, and officials of the Butokukai Martial Arts Association. More than 1,326 persons purged because of their connection with the "thought police" have already been cleared, and most of the others will probably soon be liberated. On August 6 the government lifted the ban on 13,904 individuals. Of the original 70,097 former officers of the army or navy of imperial-appointment rank those who have not yet been depurged are slated to be soon, together with all of the 40,891 ex-members of non-officer rank of the gendarmerie and "special service units."

The April elections brought conservative elements back to power in Japan. The victorious Liberal Party is led by men who have spent most of their careers in government service and have demonstrated a strong loyalty to the older patterns of Japanese society. Its landslide victory was not due to its democratic accomplishments but to a political platform concerned mainly with international problems connected with the peace settlement. The campaign was not in any sense fought on domestic issues. No attempt was made to evaluate or criticize the work accomplished in the four years since the first local elections. Not a single party—Liberal, Democrat, or Socialist—offered a positive program for correcting local ills; all were content with high-sounding, empty platitudes. There is not the slightest sign on the political horizon of the emergence of a healthy progressive party.

The Cabinet reshuffle in July, the seventh since Yoshida took over more than three years ago, does not seem to have improved matters. The Socialists contend that Yoshida has made Cabinet posts his private property, appointing whomever he wants without consulting other leaders. Business men consider the situation unchanged. Tokyo newspapers—the *Asahi, Yomiuri, Nihon Keizai,* and *Mainichi*—have expressed disappointment; the

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Mainichi observed that the changes would make it easier for the Prime Minister to control the Cabinet, many of the ministers having been "tamed" in bureaucratic life.

The peace treaty has divided the Socialists into a left and a right wing, thus reducing the party's chances of coming to power. The other opposition group, the Democratic Party, has experienced a series of crises and sizable desertions to the Liberals. Neither party is now a significant political force, and with the Communist Party outlawed, Japan is in fact a one-party nation.

REARMAMENT is no longer discussed as a possibility; it is accepted as a fact. On July 16 the Tokyo *Shimbun* said that the problem is not *whether* Japan should be rearmed but *when* and *how*, and pointed out that the United States–Japanese Pacific Security Pact presupposes that Japan will eventually be rearmed. Meanwhile, Japanese military strength is being gradually built up. Under the guise of a National Police Reserve 75,000 men have been formally organized into regular military units, with engineers, artillery, medical, and supply divisions, and given basic field training. But this is only a start. According to a report in the *Nippon Times* of July 9, "well-informed sources believe that the character of the National Police Reserve will change when a United States–Japanese defense pact is signed." The plan to create a Ministry of Public Security which will incorporate the existing national, rural, and local police systems also has military significance.

The people are already suffering from heavy taxes, and rearmament will lower their living standards still further. This can lead to serious unrest and once again push Japan toward a policy of exploitation and aggression. No wonder that India withholds approval of the draft treaty, that the Burmese newspaper, the *Burman*, fears a resurgent Japan, that the Philippines have expressed strong opposition, and that the Australian Labor Party leader, Herbert Evatt, has voiced grave concern for the future "as Japan becomes stronger and stronger."

The astute Japanese leaders are aware of Japan's strategic importance in the Far East and confident of their ability to exploit it. Mr. Yoshida soft-pedaled any reference in the treaty to the repatriation of thousands of Japanese who in violation of Article IX of the Potsdam Declaration, have not been permitted to return to Japan. The government must also refrain, he says, from taking up the question of relief of war invalids and families of the war dead in view of the rising suspicion of ultra-nationalism and militarism in Japan. But because of the deterioration of the international situation he feels free to raise territorial questions. He has told the Japanese people and the Allied powers that the question of the return of former Japanese territory is in an "elastic" state. The newspaper *Yomiuri* indicated the general attitude when it said: "People are greatly concerned over the ultimate fate of the Bonins, Ryukyus, Habomai, Shikotan, and the Kurile Islands, which historically are Japanese." Another clear warning can be found in a statement in the *Nihon Keizai* that the American drafty treaty "is not an ideal one for us," but since it is the best to be had under *present circumstances*, "we have no alternative but to accept it."

The Keizai Doyu Kai (Japanese Management Association) and the great industrialists are pressing for the repeal of some of the troublesome restrictions on monopolies and trade associations, and the government is said to be about ready to rescind a series of laws passed for the purpose of dissolving the Zaibatsu. In spite of the approaching peace-treaty conference and the need for discretion, Prime Minister Yoshida, one of the strongest advocates of an American alliance, felt constrained to say recently: "In some quarters fear is entertained that a separate peace might permanently sever Japan's trade with Red China. Red or white, China remains our next-door neighbor. Geography and economic law will, I believe, prevail in the long run over any ideological differences and artificial trade barriers." These are portentous words, and they are underscored by a recent statement of exporters and importers in the Kansai district calling for a revival of trade with Communist China.

Prime Minister Yoshida

The Japanese have never forgotten the pre-war racial insults. Their own "Asia for Asiatics" form of racialism is again being fostered. An editorial in the *Jiji Shimpo* said not long ago: "Nothing hurts the pride of the Asian peoples more than irresponsible statements to the effect that Europe should be defended against aggression in preference to Asia. Why should Asia's security be of only secondary importance? Some people may declare that the Europe First principle is supported by nothing but a theory of the white man's superiority over other races."

ASIDE from these evident developments there are disturbing sub-surface social trends in Japan. Democracy prospers in a nation if the young people mature within a framework of responsible citizenship. Japanese youth have for many years been subjected to a confusion of scenes and doctrines. During the war they were sent

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to the coal mines or munition plants. What little education they received was far removed from accepted teaching practice. After the war they were set adrift in a way that had never been permitted before in Japanese society. Today young people live in a spiritual vacuum, without a compelling ideal of any kind. A similar vacuum created by the depression of the 1930's made it possible for the military to obtain a strong hold upon the young.

The restrictions on labor unions in Japan have called forth criticism from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Even the *Nippon Times* of July 22 warned that "steps against [the workers'] basic interests jeopardize their will to work on the one hand and on the other put up bars to the attainment of international confidence and good-will." The curbs on labor have contributed to the elimination of the only potential opposition, the Socialist Party. Business interests are now making demands that will further weaken the unions. The Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry, for example, has called for major revisions in the Labor Standards law: to lengthen the working day from eight to ten hours, to ease restrictions on overtime and holiday work and on the hours for females and young workers, to abolish the monthly rest days for women workers, and to shorten the annual vacation with pay.

The trend in education is disturbing also. The system set up by the Board of Education, which seeks to decentralize education, is attacked as "unsuitable." Is greater centralization, then, desired? Centralized schools played a key role in the program of the pre-war militarists. The Japan Education Society, before the war, was the gathering place of the "education bosses." Its resuscitation last April, with a membership composed largely of principals and school officials of the prefectural governments, is arousing fear that centralization will again be imposed.

Japan, it must be remembered, is economically insecure. The tax program has emphasized capital accumulation at the sacrifice of the people's welfare, and the tax burden falls most heavily upon those least able to bear it. Before the Korean war the living standard, always pitifully low, had recovered to 75 per cent of the 1930-34 level, but since then prices have risen almost 50 per cent, and the government has shown neither the ability to cope with inflation nor the inclination to strengthen the social-security system. The price of rice rose 18.46 per cent and of electricity 31 per cent in August. A poll of the National Public Opinion Research Institute in late March reported that 40 per cent of the Japanese people questioned said they were too engrossed in making a living to be interested in public affairs.

As in the past when they faced despair and want, the Japanese people are turning to their gods and looking for a "strong man" to lead them. The London *Times* said in April, "The forces of old Japan are again gathering." Those on the scene know that the present revival of conservatism is ominous. Japan has never looked with kindness upon those who would restrict its trade. A real danger exists that the union insecurity, inflation, and reaction may give impetus to totalitarian regimentation and turn Japan into paths of aggression.

Boom in the Ruhr

BY MARK GAYN

Düsseldorf, August

THE Königsallee in Düsseldorf is West Germany's loveliest street. A broad, tree-lined canal runs through it, with the great Ruhr banks and offices on one side and shops and cafes on the other. In one cafe the waiters wear three types of uniforms to mark their rank; a slice of cream-topped cake costs what is an hour's pay for most Germans; and a handsome indoor waterfall trickles down a tile wall, adding its sound to the genteel murmur of the clientèle.

The Ruhr is probably doing better today than any other industrial complex in Europe. Its back log of orders runs well into 1952, with new customers still queueing up. German shipyards and machine-tool factories, freed of most restrictions, are clamoring for its steel. And ahead, of course, is the happy prospect of rich armament orders. Despite severe handicaps, such as the shortage of coal, the index of production has been soaring. With 1936 as the base, the index stood at 88 two years ago, rose to 109 last year, and is now in the 130's.

The Ruhr likes to keep mum about its earnings, but there are many tell-tale signs. It is known, for instance that the bigger steel plants, supervised by the Allies and subject to rigid price controls, earned some $60,000,000 in 1947-50 after taxes and allowing $70,000,000 for depreciation. British experts here report that these earnings are dwarfed by the profits in the uncontrolled industries, especially those making consumer goods.

Yet the boom is deceptive. The economic structure of West Germany, including the Ruhr, is badly out of shape, and it is not all a deformity of rapid growth. This should surprise no one. The country has been

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forcibly split in two, with the grain of the East divided from the steel of the West. The national treasury is saddled with the support of some 9,500,000 refugees from the East. Western Berlin, necessary as it is politically, is an almost total economic liability. And American economic aid—some $1,400,000,000 since April, 1948—would barely pay the Occupation costs for the current year.

THESE burdens, all of them beyond German control, have been compounded by financial folly at Bonn. The German economic policy has been a mixture of ill-advised liberalism, irresponsibility, and lack of foresight. With American support Bonn has long been an ecstatic champion of free enterprise. All early post-war controls have been scuttled. The free-economy boys, both German and American, argue that the policy would have worked but for Korea. The argument is academic. The fact is that the policy has exhausted foreign credits, flooded the country with such imported luxuries as fresh pineapples, and produced a major economic crisis. In April, being unable to meet its foreign debts, Bonn actually went into voluntary bankruptcy and surrendered control of its foreign trade for ninety days to the Organization for European Economic Coordination. It was only then that one began to hear American demands for the reimposition of controls.

The chief German exponent of free enterprise has been the Minister of Economics, Dr. Ludwig Erhard. He has opposed controls on imports, investments, prices, and profits. He has fought the proposal to levy a special tax to build up funds for industrial investment. Taxes, he argues, were meant to balance budgets and not to tamper with "the natural workings of the price system." His forecasts have been notoriously wrong, and one hears fantastic stories of how his aides sweat blood trying to buttress his pronouncements.

Erhard has been engaged in a bitter squabble with the Finance Minister, Fritz Schäffer, who pursues a more orthodox line. With strong Ruhr support Erhard recently beat out Schäffer at a party caucus.

What Germany needs is plain, painful remedies—a tight control of investments so that they do not pour into the luxury trades while the basic industries hunger for capital, plugs for the huge loopholes in the tax fabric, selective imports, and tight controls on prices and profits. Organized labor has been the only group to show a responsible attitude: though prices have been soaring for a year, it has waited until now to ask for higher wages. The coal miners have just been awarded a 10 to 12 per cent raise. But this increase does not match the rise in prices, and there is trouble ahead all along the labor front. Already the unions have denounced a hundred local wage contracts.

Meanwhile the battle for the Ruhr continues. All interests—capital, labor, the Allies, the Communists, and the neo-Nazis—recognize the Ruhr for what it is, the source of German power. The last Allied controls here are about to go, and the rival forces are jockeying for advantage. Big business wants to be sure the "decartelized" coal and steel concerns are not split into too many parts and are returned to private hands. The Social Democrats and the unions clamor for nationalization of heavy industry. Paris and Washington, for different reasons, are opposed to a socialized Ruhr. London, badly outmaneuvered here in recent months, does not really know what it wants. The Laborites would like to see Ruhr heavy industry nationalized, but they fear that if it is, it may again become too strong a competitor.

Alfried Krupp Seligson

Two rounds have already been fought, with the first going to labor. By threatening a general strike, the unions won *Mitbestimmungsrecht*, or an equal voice in policy decisions in the coal and steel industries. But at the headquarters of the German Fedreation of Labor I could find no one who thought the victory was final.

The industrialists took the second round. The agreement on decartelization reached with Bonn, drafted by German experts, but with U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy doing most of the negotiating, was considerably milder than anything proposed previously. Yet, nudged by the Ruhr, Bonn has been putting in new claims on an almost weekly schedule. After Bonn protested that a few years hence it might be sued for tampering with the property rights of former cartel owners, the Allied High Commission decided to allow the reimbursement of the ex-owners with shares of the new "decartelized" companies. Since one of the purposes of the famous Law No. 27 was to purge the industrialists who financed Hitler, the new pledge is a quaint addition to the story of German democratization.

Repentance is not a common quality in the Ruhr. The feeling is rather that Germany has been a victim of Allied injustice and that the West is now merely admitting some of its guilt. The Ruhr is demanding a billion dollars a year in American aid to help rebuild its industries and support the refugees from the East. The government is juggling figures to show that the Occupation costs are wrecking the German economy. And

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there is a vast outpouring of propaganda to the effect that the Allies are depriving the Germans of their housing, living ostentatiously while Germans go without necessities, and including even diapers and brassières in Occupation expenses.

The week Alfried Krupp and his directors were let out of prison, a local newspaper ran a red-ink banner headline, "S. O. S. from Krupptown." The entire population of Essen, it reported, felt that Krupp's release vindicated both the much-maligned firm and the city. An Essen-Krupp lobby promptly launched a high-pressure campaign at Bonn. And a Krupp spokesman hastened to inform the world that Krupp steel would never again go into weapons—"not even if we're accused of sabotaging Europe's rearmament."

Near Essen, on a wooded hill overlooking the Ruhr, I find fuss and bustle at Villa Hugel, the old Krupp estate, now occupied by the Allied Coal Control Board. Its officials concede that they may not remain there long. The villa is still owned by the durable Bertha—for whom the gun that shelled Paris in World War I was named—and is being run by an old family retainer. Of the vast family properties, much has been destroyed, some dismantled; other plants are still being run by Allied trustees. But Allied officials show no inclination to sorrow over the Krupps. The property which survived the havoc is valued moderately at $50,000,000. And no one here doubts that when Bonn gets around to the question of Ruhr ownership, the Krupps will get a very, very fair deal.

IT CAN be proved that the rich in Germany are getting richer and the poor poorer. The Federation of Labor estimates that while the total wage-and-salary bill in industry has risen only 130 per cent since 1936, gross profits have risen 330 per cent. If this evidence is not impartial, one need only turn to Jean Cattier, who has just marked his resignation as E. C. A. chief in Germany with a blast at the policy of a free economy. German manufacturing industries, he reports, paid out 22.5 per cent of the value of their sales in wages and salaries in 1948; 19.8 per cent in 1949; and 19.3 per cent last year.

But one needs no statistics to perceive the impoverishment of the masses. Any German housewife will testify to her increasing inability to buy even the essentials. American officials here are shocked by the mounting disparity between prices and wages. A German worker earns only about a fourth as much as an American worker, but must pay nearly the same prices. And no worker in the bigger Ruhr towns can fail to see the lavish display of luxury goods intended for the rich.

Thus the seeds of a bitter class struggle are being sown. In fact, the gong has just struck on Round Three, with the Federation of Labor formally demanding that the government change its economic policy or face an open clash with the unions. In federation headquarters there is talk of non-cooperation, a slow-down of production, and even a general strike. Labor officials say they can tie up the entire German economy within thirty-three hours if the rights of workers continue to be disregarded. The Railway Workers' Union has jumped the gun by withdrawing its representatives from all government boards. The Social Democrats will certainly demand a vote on the socialization issue as soon as an opportunity offers.

Equally grim preparations are being made by the other side. The all-powerful Association of German Industries has just set up the Institute of German Industry for the purpose of "combating union propaganda." Business organizations in the United States have been invited to send emissaries here to help management resist labor demands. Bonn has proposed the formation of a special police detachment to prevent industrial sabotage by the Communists—the unions fear this might become a force of scabs. Labor has grave misgivings also about the Mobile State Police of 10,000 men, whose upper ranks, the Social Democrats charge, are filled with former storm troopers.

Both the unions and the Social Democrats profess to see behind the men of Bonn the same shadowy figures who dominated the Ruhr before Germany's defeat. Günther Henle, of the powerful firm of Klöckner, is Adenauer's closest adviser on steel. Robert Pferdemenges, the aged Cologne banker who is said to have played a part in the early contacts between the Ruhr industrialists and the Nazis, today helps both to fill the Christian Democratic treasury and to shape its social and economic policy.

In connection with these strains, the political flux in Germany appears extremely dangerous. It cannot be made safer by the proposed ban on extremist parties, by suppressing Communist newspapers, or by creating new police divisions. What is needed is fundamental economic reform, enlightened leadership, and freedom from anxiety over Russia's intentions. In this crisis Bonn offers no adequate leadership. The government is constitutionally weak, its economic policy is disastrous, and Dr. Adenauer's coalition is composed of elements that barely speak to one another. Nor can one put excessive hope in the Social Democrats, who in the past year have coasted along mainly on nationalist appeals.

Responsibility thus falls on the West, especially on Washington. Yet Germans feel that the Americans do not understand the forces at play here, do not know their own mind, and do not have any clear policy. Officials in Bonn, for instance, have not forgotten the peremptory manner in which they were told last fall that West Germany was to rearm. The timing, the phrasing, and the failure to understand the popular temper were major blunders. Many here fear now that Washington

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will subordinate public welfare to the demands of rearmament. The other day an E. C. A. official told the Germans that "allotments of E. C. A. funds to agriculture could not be justified." This is a disastrous approach to a sick and devastated country.

Responsible German leaders do not dispute the need for an army. But they consider the need for progressive planning, fundamental reforms, increased aid for civilian projects, including housing, and firmness in dealing with pressure groups both at home and abroad just as urgent. Many here hope such a program will be sponsored by Washington, but few feel very confident.

Look Homeward, Senator

BY BROWNIE LEE JONES

Richmond, Virginia

VISITORS flocking to Williamsburg, Virginia, on Friday, August 4, to see "Common Glory," a play about the birth of American democracy, were unaware that fifty miles away a grass-roots drama of democracy was being staged in the historic old courthouse of Princess Anne County.

The story unfolded there before Judge M. Ray Doubles was one of almost unbelievable election fraud. The audience—farmers in overalls, townsfolk in informal summer dress, county officials in cool seersucker—listened with an eagerness which showed their interest was greater than that of mere onlookers. They seemed to be about equally divided between supporters of Senator Harry Byrd's conservative Democratic organization and backers of the anti-organization movement known as the People's Ticket.

The complainants—backers of the People's Ticket—were seeking an injunction from the court to prevent the county Election Board from delivering the absentee or "mail" ballots to the various precincts for counting. They charged that these ballots had been widely solicited from residents of the county, and witness after witness supported the charge. Many of these witnesses even testified, to the "utter amazement" of Judge Doubles, that they had no idea for whom they had voted, as their ballots had been delivered to them by persons interested in the candidacy of members of the Byrd organization, *already marked*. The only time the absentee voters had touched a pencil was when they signed the voucher required by law!

Among the witnesses were two members of the Election Board who said that upon the advice of the Commonwealth Attorney, himself a candidate in the primary, they had ordered 23,800 ballots printed for the coming election, although the total number required by law was 7,418, or "twice the number of ballots cast in the last preceding election for President." Included in this order were 2,800 ballots which the clerk of the Election Board had specified were "mail" ballots and which were turned over to him, presumably for delivery to some 2,800 absentee voters. Yet only 470 applications for "mail" ballots had been received. With a son and son-in-law who were candidates, the clerk was kept busy distributing these ballots.

The chairman of the Election Board, an old man too ill to know what had taken place, testified that for ten years the control of the board's affairs had been left in the hands of the clerk. The minutes of the last meeting of the board, which he had signed, had been dictated in advance by the clerk.

Listening to his testimony, the spectators frequently burst into nervous laughter, but it was apparent that they were laughing to cover their embarrassment. A sense of shame was revealed by more than one face in the courtroom as "native white" witnesses were called to the stand who were so tragically devoid of education that the simplest questions had to be rephrased for them many times before they could grasp the meaning. It was clear that the ignorance of these simple people had been exploited by county officials whose duty it was to help them and not to abuse their confidence. At one point Judge Doubles turned in despair from a witness who had hesitantly confessed that her ballot had been marked by one of the candidates and sat with his head in his hands for five or ten minutes while the courtroom kept completely silent.

For twenty years the political life of Princess Anne County has been controlled by the "courthouse machine," which is allied with the dominant state organization. In the off-year Democratic primary in August the organization easily succeeded in retaining control of the legislature. Surely this fact is not unknown to Senator Byrd, who has been leveling charges of "moral turpitude" against persons in high places in the federal government. And surely the Senator knows that the absentee-voters scandal has long constituted, in the words of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, "the worst political cesspool" in the Old Dominion. Honest Virginians will readily concede, therefore, that "the creeping moral deterioration" of which Senator Byrd complains is not confined to the District of Columbia. A look homeward would reveal to the Senator that the house-cleaning he advocates might well be started in one of the machine-dominated counties of Virginia.

This year Virginia offers two dramas for students of history and government—"Common Glory" and "Common Shame."

BROWNIE LEE JONES is director of the Suffrage Project of the Virginia National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has attracted wide attention.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Gide of the Novels

ANDRE GIDE. By Albert J. Guerard. Harvard University Press. $4.

ARTICLES on Gide, and translations from his works have lately been much in evidence. In French letters this has been a Gidean year, and the unrelenting enemies of the "Satanic" writer have patiently taken it as the Mephistophelean revenge for the Holy Year. Gide, in his unquiet grave, must smile that his wish to disturb posthumously has been fulfilled. Parisians laughed about the telegram signed Gide and presumably sent from the other world which read: "Hell does not exist. Inform Paul Claudel."

There was no good book in English on Gide. Léon Pierre-Quint's biography and Klaus Mann's fervent study had not gone deep and had ceased to be adequate. The recent study by an Englishman, D. L. Thomas, is too narrowly ethical. This new volume by Albert J. Guerard will easily stand as the best book on Gide in English and, next to Jean Hytier's acute analysis of Gide's art, the best in any language.

The author, on the Harvard faculty, is academic in the beautiful sense of the word—impeccably informed, patient, thorough, penetrating. The son of a talented writer, a novelist himself, he is from the new generation of American professors who maintain a fruitful contact with living literature.

He has eschewed the strict biographical approach. Gide is everywhere present in his works and has been his own biographer as well as a constant diarist. There is very little invention in his novels, and his poverty of imagination would have hampered any other writer. When, if ever, we have the complete record of Gide's life and thought—for many passages of the *Journals* were obviously excised out of his regard for his wife—we shall realize the full tragedy of a man haunted by his sexual life, afflicted by secret remorse, flaunting his offense before the public, repeatedly submitting to the silent, resigned disapproval of Mme Gide and displaying all his talent and not a little sophistry in his novels "in the vain hope of convincing her," as he said himself. It is too soon to add anything valuable to Gide's biographical study, and Albert Guerard has wisely preferred a purely critical approach.

His study falls within what is probably the most original contribution of America to literary criticism at the present time (as it has been since Henry James)—the analysis of the technique and structure of fiction. No province of criticism is strewn with more perils. Guerard avoids most of them with skill. He is appreciative, like all practitioners of the craft of fiction and even more like all professors attracted by intellectual and self-conscious novelists, of "The Counterfeiters" and its adroit reflection of life in an endless play of mirrors. But he perceives the deficiencies of such a novel for novelists. He is much too severe, in Gide's opinion and in mine, on "La Porte Etroite," and prefers what he calls the "realism" of "L'Immoraliste," which appears to me too blunt, too symmetrically composed, too spoilt by the insufferably didactic Ménalque to be a very great book. Rightly, Guerard stresses the interest and the beauty of Gide's early treatises. He spends great pains, without any adequate reward in my judgment, on an acute psychoanalytical interpretation of the difficult "Voyage d'Urien." He is less than fair to the superb achievement of "Philoctète" and of "Saul," and dismisses "Fruits of the Earth" with too much impatience. No book, to this day, has cast a comparable spell on youth.

Guerard has the full equipment of a modern critic, which includes a knowledge of modern psychology and, alas, the frequent use of a vocabulary, borrowed from Freud, Rank, and others, which pins labels on certain problems and saves the critic the effort of exploring them—trauma of birth, longing for the unconscious warmth of the womb, focal suicide, and so on. But he uses that vocabulary and those pseudo-explanations sparingly and intelligently. He reduces many of the Gidean contradictions to one central conflict between opposing forces.

Gide's ego was a typically divided one, wavering between self-destructiveness (loved by him with Satanic fervor) and protection of the self; between a dissolving liberty and a Puritan restraint; a voluptuous submission to all influences (from foreign lands, foreign writers, primitive and so called abnormal impulses) and the antithetical urge to follow his slope upward, to integrate and proceed from disintegration to a Goethean expansion toward universality. The clash, often unresolved and half-concealed by the apparent serenity of the style, lies at the source of Gide's finest works and gives them their vibrating tremor. After he decided to drive sincerity to oneself to the utmost and to lay his heart, and his homosexuality, bare in "Corydon" and "If It Die," Gide had little more to say. His later years were sad. He had helped broaden minds and stifle Puritan prejudices so that there is no longer any woe unto him by whom the offense cometh, and Gide still thought he was offending. He who loved the devil should, like those whom the gods love, die young.

Gide, having read the earlier draft of this volume, advised its author to supplement it with a chapter on his influence and the significance of his work. He was right. As a pure novelist, Gide pales, not, as he sincerely but mischievously asserted, as compared with Simenon, "the greatest novelist alive," or with Proust (a memorialist, he insisted, rather than a novelist), but in comparison with Mauriac, Bernanos, Malraux. This volume was written as a companion volume to two others on Hardy and Conrad and contains multiple irrelevant allusions to those novelists, but Guerard could not give Gide all his due by treating him primarily as a writer of fiction.

His last chapter, added on Gide's suggestion, is the least satisfactory in the book. It is not adequately informed: it is very unfair, for example, to Jacques Rivière, who would deserve a full study in English; it fails to follow Gide's in-

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fluence through several generations of French writers and on French life or to distinguish among the several masks that Gide's face assumed after 1900. In the last few years there has been a marked coolness to Gide among French youth, and Malraux first, then Camus, has replaced him as their leader. Is it because much of the Gidean message has already been assimilated? Homosexuality has become a conventional theme, and it is now a proof of boldness to treat of heterosexual love in literature; the revolt against any orthodoxy has become tame; Gide's stylistic devices have little appeal to French writers who have turned against language itself or are renovating the language through slang and a very unclassical prose. Even Gide's greatest lesson, that of sincerity in literature, which aligned him with Montaigne, Rousseau, and Stendhal, has borne its fruit, and sincerity driven to the point of brutality is now taken by many to be the only moral virtue left in a new ethical code. Many of Gide's works are promised to oblivion. His ultimate place is uncertain. But *Gidisme*, like *Renanisme*, *Beylisme*, *Rousseauisme*, has been a literary and social force in France and elsewhere. HENRI PEYRE

Do We Want a World State?

THE IDEA AND PRACTICE OF WORLD GOVERNMENT By Gerard J. Mangone. Columbia University Press. $3.75.

RECENT writing on the problem of world government has tended to focus on the question of whether or not such government is possible. The advocates of some form of world government, once they have outlined their plan, put their energies to persuading us that if we will but do such and such things we can get world government; opponents tend to emphasize the uselessness in the kind of world we have today of any effort to get beyond the *Staatenbund* of the United Nations into a true world state, a *Bundestaat*, or even a unitary state. Mr. Mangone has a somewhat different focus, and one which makes his book a definite contribution to one of the great debates of our time. He leads off rather cavalierly with the remark that of course world government is possible. But then he asks the natural question, too often burked in our discussion: Are the more possible, the more likely forms of world government desirable, consistent with what we as democrats want of this world?

His book covers a vast ground, for he has sketched the background of political theory, international law, and actual international power relations from the treaty between Lagash and Umma in Mesopotamia about 3100 B.C. to the present. He has inevitably in so short a book a serious problem of compression and perspective, which he does not wholly solve. The book is too packed with material, too full of clumps of trees for the whole forest to stand out clearly. Yet he has crowded a lot into a small space, and his footnotes and bibliography together will give the student as full guidance to a difficult subject as he is likely to find between two covers.

Mr. Mangone's answer to the main question he sets himself is clear, though it will not satisfy those who want either to damn or join the movement—or rather, movements—to further the cause of world government. Briefly, he maintains that the most probable form an actual world government in the near future would take is that of a gigantic world bureaucracy in which the essential values of democracy—material as well as spiritual values—would be lost. Such a monolithic, totalitarian bureaucracy he regards as inevitable if the political unification of the world is carried out by the successful imperialistic domination of any one power; but he also thinks that a similar stultifying bureaucracy would emerge even were the unification achieved by voluntary agreement of the kind desired by World Federalists. We must, then, be critical even of the best intentions—indeed, above all, of the best intentions. A world state that would preserve the democratic values of diversity, experiment, dynamic growth, must be based on some sort of shared habits of thought and feeling, on the kind of political nexus Burke was trying to get at. We must move slowly and cautiously, perhaps first trying to build from existing "sovereign" states bigger units on a regional basis. Even here Mr. Mangone has his doubts, for he fears that half a dozen super-states would make for an even more ferocious international rivalry than does the present collection of seventy-odd.

At bottom, and from the point of view of the ardent advocate of world government *now*, Mr. Mangone is almost as discouraging as out-and-out opponents of any attempt to get much beyond the United Nations. But his heart is not wholly in accord with his head. He comes out almost where the skeptics, the hard-bitten realists, come out, but not quite. Something in him urges him on toward the side of the angels—if only they will be patient angels, and not ask for too much. CRANE BRINTON

They Shall Be Free

THEY SHALL BE FREE. By Allan K. Chalmers. Doubleday and Company. $3.

ON APRIL 9, 1931, in Scottsboro, Alabama, eight colored boys were sentenced to death and one to life imprisonment for alleged rape upon two white girls less than three weeks before. The two girls had spent the previous night in a hobo jungle. One of them later declared that the boys had never touched her. One of the boys was thirteen years old; one was partially blind; and one was suffering from a venereal disease. All but two of the boys were released sometime in the last twelve years. Haywood Patterson escaped; Andy Wright, who had been returned to prison for violation of his parole, was released on June 9, 1950. The Scottsboro Case, one of the most disgraceful in the history of American judicial process, had come to an end. The thrilling story of the involved fight to secure the release of the defendants is here retold, with new details, by one of the most effective participants, a transplanted Southerner who was chairman of the Scottsboro Defense Committee from its establishment in 1935.

The author disclaims any intention of making himself an "interpreter of the social scene." He has done so none the less, for in any *cause célèbre* a community is as much on trial as are the accused. To be sure, he does not trace the deep-sunk roots of the South's illness—slavery, Civil War, Reconstruction, and the restoration of white supremacy. But he does point out their results at the time of the great depression. The nine defendants "were no worse off and no better off than thousands of their contemporaries in the

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South. They were, in effect, nine normal boys in the grip of a depression-ridden society." If these nine boys were "normal" products of their society, it is easy to understand why that society sought to convict them of a crime of which they were manifestly innocent.

At first, practically all the respectable elements in Alabama—the clergy, the bar, the press, the universities—were discreetly or cravenly silent. Like other Alabamans they resented the fact that one of the defendants' lawyers, Samuel Leibowitz, was a New York Jew. In this early period, however, Judge James E. Horton achieved at least a minor niche in the annals of the independence of the American judiciary when in 1933 he granted a new trial. The next year he was defeated for reelection.

However, a few Alabamans—among them, Grover Hall, Guy Snavely, James Chapell, Donald Comer, and Henry M. Edmonds—later formed an Alabama Scottsboro Defense Committee of forty-nine white and colored citizens who contributed mightily to ultimate victory for justice. Having lived for many years in the Deep South, I share the author's admiration for their courage in defying the vicious prejudices of their communities. But I cannot agree with Dr. Chalmers's categorical statement: "It is axiomatic that if one intends to change society, he will not be successful if he works from the outside." No attempt was being made to transform society but rather to free nine innocent boys. The author recognizes that Leibowitz's "contribution to the ultimate victory was immeasurable." So was that of the author, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other outsiders, including the Supreme Court of the United States.

Perhaps the Communists also contributed to the ultimate victory. Dr. Chalmers records the cliché that their participation made it impossible either to execute or to acquit the accused. There can be little doubt that the Communists were more interested in laying bare the South's sickness than in obtaining an acquittal. And yet, as the author traces the developments, it was not until after the Communists had blatantly revealed the forces behind the conviction that Southern liberals entered the arena. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc?* I don't know, but liberals wherever they are would feel more sure of Southern liberalism in the early 1930's if it had entered the lists before the mother of one of the accused had spoken in twenty-eight European countries. Few of us, North or South, like to have our maladies laid bare for neighbors or strangers to see in all their malignancy.

The real value of this enthralling narrative lies, therefore, in its explicit and implicit interpretation of Alabama society from 1931 to 1950 and in its analysis of the forces within and without this society that achieved the ultimate victory for justice.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

"Case History of All of Us"

THE CATCHER IN THE RYE. By J. D. Salinger. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

ECHOES reach me of the popularity of "The Catcher in the Rye." Why has this unpretentious, mildly affecting chronicle of a few days in the life of a disturbed adolescent been read with enthusiasm by Book-of-the-Month Club and lending-library adults ordinarily concerned with fiction as a frivolous diversion or as a source of lofty, incontrovertible platitudes?

Entirely, I think, because, like many contemporary and highly praised novels written on the assumption that the mere record of budding sensitiveness automatically results in fiction, the book is a mirror. It reflects something not at all rich and strange but what every sensitive sixteen-year-old since Rousseau has felt, and of course what each one of us is certain he has felt.

Mr. Salinger attempts to make his story specific, but it is constantly escaping into generalities. Holden Caulfield is friendly, "democratic," well-bred, and snobbish in ways peculiar to adolescence. He has the beginnings of taste; "corny" is a term frequent in his speech. A virgin, he never knows exactly what any girl may be expecting of him and is afraid to make love to the prostitute supplied by an obliging bellhop. He mistakes whatever is spontaneous in his behavior for madness: "But I'm crazy. I swear to God I am"; if he acts on impulse he feels guilty, though also boastful: "I'm the most terrific liar you ever saw in your life." Bravado and buffoonery imperfectly disguise his conviction of madness and guilt.

His sense of alienation is almost complete—from parents, from friends, from society in general as represented by the prep school from which he has been expelled and the night-club and hotel world of New York in which he endures a week-end exile while hiding out from his family. With his alienation go assorted hatreds—of the movies, of night clubs, of social and intellectual pretension, and so on. And physical disgust: pimples, sex, an old man picking his nose are all equally cause for nausea. It is of little importance that the alienation, the hatreds, and the disgust are those of a sixteen-year-old. Any reader, sharing or remembering something like them, will agree with the conclusion to be drawn from this unhappy odyssey: to borrow a line from Auden, "We must love one another or die." After every other human being has failed him, Caulfield still has his loving ten-year-old sister to love; she embodies the innocence we all hope we have preserved and the wisdom we all hope we have acquired.

The skill with which all this has been worked into 277 pages is most ingenious. But as it proceeds on its insights, which are not really insights since they are so general, "The Catcher in the Rye" becomes more and more a case history of all of us. Radically this writing depends on the reader's recollection of merely similar difficulties; the unique crisis and the unique anguish are not re-created. These emotional ups and downs become increasingly factitious—so much must be included to elicit memories of so many callow heartbreaks—and though always lively in its parts, the book as a whole is predictable and boring.

ERNEST JONES

The Imagist Doctrine

IMAGISM. A Chapter for the History of Modern Poetry. By Stanley K. Coffman, Jr. University of Oklahoma Press. $3.

LITERATURE is formed less by movements than by men, less by men than by their writings. Unlike politics, it does not depend on organizational efficiency. If it did, the Imagist movement, which flourished between 1912 and 1917 in England and Amer-

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ica, would have been a failure. Mr. Coffman's account of its short history is a tale of disunity, inconsistency, and occasional treason. Originally captained by Ezra Pound, the movement was stolen from him by Amy Lowell. Its critical theory, whose philosophical basis was formed by T. E. Hulme, was formulated into a set of principles by Miss Lowell, Richard Aldington, and others, developed in unexpected directions, and found to have affinities with poets as widely separated as the French Symbolists and the Chinese. The Imagists themselves persistently violated as poets the narrow limitations they had set themselves as critics. Instead of keeping to the irreducible particulars of sensuous experience, as their doctrine demanded, most of them wrote about the more general emotions involved in their relation to that experience.

But the organizational shortcomings of the movement did not prevent it from exerting an influence in modern poetry. Mr. Coffman makes a conservative estimate of this influence, claiming for it only a general effect which is difficult to isolate. Imagism avoided the extremes of such eccentric contemporary movements as futurism and vorticism. It did not offer poetry a cosmic revelation, but only a standard of conduct. This limitation is clear throughout Mr. Coffman's discussion, and especially in his comparison of imagism and symbolism. Apart from certain incidental resemblances, the two approach poetic imagery with very different expectations. The Symbolists regarded their vague, suggestive images as a means of approaching ultimates. Hulme, on the other hand, disclaimed the transcendental as subject matter for poetry and set the image to tasks of precise denotation. The moderate Imagist principles called for exactness, economy, and the honest use of materials, the virtues of all good workmanship. Many poets of decidedly independent talents like D. H. Lawrence and William Carlos Williams were temporarily attracted to the movement and drew from it a consciousness of craft which affected their later work. Even the poetry of T. S. Eliot, who may have learned of Hulme's theories through Pound, represents in many ways an application of Imagist doctrines.

JACOB KORG

Books in Brief

A CONGREVE GALLERY. By Kathleen M. Lynch. Harvard. $3.50. Congreve was not fortunate in his early biographers. Ten years ago, however, John Hodges published the results of original researches, and it will probably never be possible to fill in any farther the rather sketchy outlines. Wisely therefore Professor Lynch has adopted another approach—brilliant little sketches of five persons intimately connected with him. They include the eccentric Dr. Monsey, who lived to be ninety-three and to figure briefly in Boswell; Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, the daughter of the great Duke; and Mary, Duchess of Leeds, who was legally the daughter of Henrietta and her husband but of whom, in all probability, Congreve was actually the father. Professor Lynch has uncovered much new material including many hitherto unpublished letters, and some of her subjects now emerge as among the most attractive and entertaining of early eighteenth-century personages. Her method is rigidly scholarly and precisely detailed, but she manages at the same time to be vivid and amusing. The result is a book indispensable to students of the period but also one which even the casual reader is certain to find fascinating if he has any appreciation at all of the wit and charm of eighteenth-century society and personality.

THE WRIGHT BROTHERS. By Fred C. Kelly. Farrar, Straus. $5. The most curious chapter in the whole curious saga of the Wright brothers deals with the newspapers of the period and their skeptical disinterest in the new world that was taking shape before their eyes. The Kitty Hawk flight—certainly one of the great news stories of the century—was reported in the Norfolk *Virginian Pilot* and the story sent out to twenty-five leading papers. Only three of the twenty-five used it; nor did the A. P. consider it worthy of mention. The long series of experimental flights in Dayton during 1904 and 1905 was ignored even by the local papers, although by an odd quirk a full report appeared in a magazine entitled *Gleanings in Bee Culture.* In fact, it was only after the brothers flew to fame in France that American skepticism faded. Mr. Kelly deals at tedious length with patent suits and the long controversy with the Smithsonian Institute but is strangely silent on the last forty years of Orville's life. To the average reader the recently published volume of the Wright brothers' letters will be more interesting and illuminating than this reissue of the authorized biography.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE grimmest phenomenon since Dagmar has been the fabulous nation-wide success of Jerry Lewis's sub-adolescent, masochistic mugging. Lewis has parlayed his apish physiognomy, rickety body, frenzied lack of coordination, paralyzing brashness, and limitless capacity for self-degradation into a gold mine for himself and the mannered crooner named Dean Martin who, draped artistically from a mike, serves as his ultra-suave straight man. When Jerry fakes swallowing a distasteful pill, twiddles "timid" fingers, whines, or walks "like Frankenstein," his sullen narcissistic insistence suggests that he would sandbag anyone who tried to keep him from the limelight. Lewis is a type I hoped to have left behind when I short-sheeted my last cot at Camp Kennekreplach. But today's bobby-soxers are rendered apoplectic by such Yahoo antics, a fact that can only be depressing for anyone reared on comedians like Valentino, Norma Shearer, Lewis Stone, Gregory Peck, Greer Garson, Elizabeth Taylor, or Vincent Impellitteri.

"That's My Boy" has to do with the transformation of an inept sissified bookworm (Lewis) into a halfback as sterling as glamour-boy Martin, a man who nonchalantly slaps off tacklers the way most of us shoo away mosquitoes. (For his part, Martin has modeled him-

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self so carefully on Crosby and Como that he seems to jiggle like a mannered skeleton inside his heavily padded suits.) The film is almost saved by Eddie Mayehoff, a lantern-jawed bruiser with practically no mouth and a funny way of overemphasizing his role of an ancient Bronco Nagurski; I figure him for a terrible-tempered tuskless mastodon who never actually went to college but knows enough to despise this puerile TV-style pigskin parody. If I am right, he supports my opinion that the American public is now ready to laugh at lepers and gas-chambers.

Almost every Italian film trickling into the "art" theaters these days has been awarded a prize by a foreign film festival. They also have in common a flux of odd-angled shots of thighs and heaving bosoms; a quantity of daring propaganda against such ogres as warmongers, pimps, non-leftist priests, prison wardens, Lesbians, and petty government officials; and an all-around frenzied unkemptness in cutting, lighting, make-up, and underlying purpose. Such a movie is "Women Without Names," a detention-camp melodrama which won the Selznick award in Venice and will probably play here to an almost solidly male audience—aesthetic to the core—drawn in by such ads as "women trapped by intrigue . . . and the heartless passion of ruthless men!" Not to mention stills like the one of Simone Simon languishing in bra and shorts on a mattress of hay in order to tease the fat pervert who sits nearby, ogling her in a torment of frustration. With sharp Italian sense of irony and realism, the director has stuck a donkey into one corner of the frame and scoured the brassière industry for a spectacular zebra-striped number—just what you'd expect a prisoner to wear on off-hours in the camp stable. The story behind this sly scene is that a gold-hearted hoyden is trying to seduce a fruity ice-cream vender into marriage so that she can promote herself and her pal, Valentina Cortesa, out of this corral for women without passports. The plan fails; the pal dies in childbirth while the camera, by way of no change, dollies down a line of sulky, dowdy onlookers. In Cortesa, my favorite actress of the moment, the film has at least one undebatable asset: no tricks, quiet grace, and a sensitive beauty which must have seen and lived wisely and well.

Just in case you've run out of sodium amytal for the week-end, here are a few substitutes with which I've just caught up. They've been floating around for some time. "Fabiola": Christian tribulations in the time of Constantine. A two-hour chaos of disconnected sequences snipped more or less at random from a much longer French production. English dubbed in; livestock by Barnum; male and female costumes by Claire McCardell; lighting by Mr. Moon. "Tony Draws a Horse": Cecil Parker and all the gang in a sophisticated British psycho-comedy. Very intelligent movie in which the heroine swaths her head in a bandana, pulls her dress over her head, and then takes the bandana off. Perhaps, this is the English way of distracting your attention from obvious cheesecake. "The Secret of Convict Lake": Battle between the sexes, somewhere north of Carson City in 1871. Five escaped convicts drop in on eight temporarily unattached lady pioneers of the sort you might meet in Lord and Taylor's any day now: Gene Tierney, Ethel Barrymore, Richard Hylton. A grotesquely overcivilized Western larded with small talk about decency and indecency, peace of mind, kindness.

"Force of Arms," the only likable film I saw last week, deserves a longer review than I can give it here.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

COLUMBIA also has made a contribution of immortal performances of the past—four LP records with forty-eight of the performances which Louis Armstrong recorded with his Hot Five (1925) and Hot Seven (1927), with Earl Hines and supporting players (1928), and with commercial bands (1929). And those interested will do well to read Wilder Hobson's article about Armstrong and these records in —of all places—the *Saturday Review of Literature*. The *SRL* is nothing I would suggest acquiring ordinarily—not, certainly, for its music section—but unaccountably it publishes each month the writing of a man with those rare instruments of a good critic—the ear that can hear, the judgment that can evaluate, the literary gift that can communicate. In his possession of these Mr. Hobson is alone not only among the regular writers of the *SRL* music section but among writers on jazz. Reluctantly, therefore, most reluctantly, I suggest acquiring the April 28 issue of *SRL* in which his illuminating article appeared (I should have made the same sugges-

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tion about the *SRL* Toscanini issue in March, 1950—not for the article in which the music editor went "phlumph-phlumph-phlumph" on "the meaning of Toscanini," but for the one in which a member of the N. B. C. Symphony, Samuel Antek, described Toscanini's way of producing music with an orchestra).

The records document Armstrong's trumpet-playing and singing from the time when they operated in the framework and context of the integrated performances of the Hot Five and Seven that were still very close to their New Orleans origins of group improvisation, to the time when a band merely provided a plushy background for the solo entertainer who began with a sensitively ornamented trumpet statement of a current song hit, continued with an extravagantly free vocal treatment of it, and carried this to its climax in a final spectacular trumpet solo. They enable us to see, according to Hobson, that "Armstrong himself . . . has . . . remained substantially the same artist," but "the material he has worked with, the types of musical combinations with which he has played have widely differed." And the results too have differed—in quality. This is the first time I have ever listened to all these groups of performances together; and it has enabled me to perceive how much better the Hot Fives and Sevens are, as wholes, than the performances of the Earl Hines combination, brilliant and exciting though these are; and to perceive also how much better Armstrong's own work is in those early performances, superb and beautiful though it is in the later ones—*e. g.*, the 1928 "Muggles" and "West End Blues," the 1929 "I Can't Give You Anything but Love." Within the framework and context of the integrated Hot Five and Seven performances Armstrong's solos, no matter how impassioned, how fantastic, how breathtaking in their virtuosity, remain under control and complete their developing structure; but already in the performances with Hines we hear the spectacular getting to be formless at times, as in those series of ever higher high notes; and we hear this carried to its occasionally incoherent extreme in the concluding exhibitions of trumpet virtuosity of the 1929 performances.

Of those early solos which exhibit Armstrong's invention under control the greatest of all is not on these records: it is the one in the "Wild Man Blues" attributed to Johnny Dodds and His Something-or-other on the Brunswick label; and it has a more exciting controlled power and coherence than the "Wild Man Blues" on the Columbia record. Two more of the best early performances, "Put 'Em Down Blues" and "Savoy Blues," might have been included in place of "Muskrat Ramble" and "Yes, I'm in the Barrel," which are among the less good. I hope they will be issued later, and that Columbia intends to issue Bessie Smith's performances, with Armstrong's and Joe Smith's wonderful obbligato playing.

Columbia gives us not only performances of the past but music: the Arthur Schwartz-Howard Dietz songs of one of the most memorable of musical revues, "The Band Wagon," which are as delightful today as in 1931, and are sung with a little too much charm by Mary Martin; and the songs of one of the finest of the Rodgers and Hart series, "Pal Joey," with Vivienne Segal again singing "Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered," and Harold Lang contributing his appropriately voiceless singing to "In Our Little Den of Iniquity." Also the songs of Cole Porter's "Anything Goes"; but these call for an Ethel Merman rather than a Mary Martin. Again one hopes for more: "The Boys from Syracuse" and others of the Rodgers and Hart series; "Funny Face" and others of the pre-"Strike up the Band" Gershwin series.

Of the present is "Guys and Dolls" (Decca), with Frank Loesser's wonderful comedy songs—above all Adelaide's Lament (in which the stanza with the marvelous line about the naked feeling one gets from the absence of an engagement ring on one's finger is omitted) and "Take Back Your Mink" ("take back your puhyils") as sung by Vivian Blaine and the lifelike replica of a raucous-voiced night-club chorus.

This is the occasion to speak of London's recording of "Die Fledermaus." For the first time I have heard the music with the German words that fit so perfectly in sound, in sense, in atmosphere; for the first time I have heard the words and music sung in a way that is possible only for people who have been hearing and singing them all their lives—a group of superb Vienna State Opera singers, with the State Opera Orchestra conducted by Krauss. And for the first time, as a result, I have understood the love in Germany and Austria for what is in fact a masterpiece of its genre. The German text (with many mistakes) and a very free English version are provided. The violin sound is veiled and edged.

For those who may want it Columbia has recorded the English adaptation produced by the Metropolitan, with the English of Lily Pons and Ljuba Welitch completely unintelligible, and with no text, but with excellent recorded sound. And RCA Victor has issued a number of the important tunes (often only one stanza) sung in another English translation by other Metropolitan stars, and sung well except by Rise Stevens.

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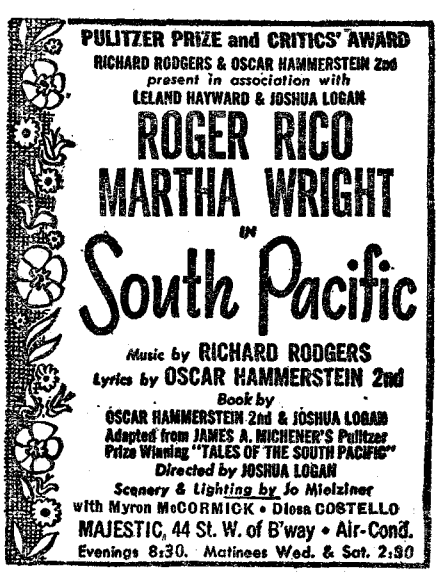
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

How the McCarran Act Works

Dear Sirs: I have not been able to see my wife and daughter for more than two years. The State Department has refused to grant me a visa because I wrote a book which did not please the FBI.

I am a social scientist and a member of the French Socialist Party. I wrote a book on fascism which was published in New York in 1939. The book is quoted several times in a booklet issued by the American government under the title "Fascism in Europe."

My wife left France in 1946 with our daughter to visit her mother. An immigration visa was granted them, and they are now permanent residents of the United States. I joined my family in late 1946 on a visitor's visa for one year—later extended for another year. The American embassy in Paris knew my background, and I had no trouble in obtaining permission to enter the United States. While in America I gathered material for a book on America. The first two volumes have been published.

I left the United States in 1949 because my father died in France. As soon as I left the country I applied for an immigration visa to return to my family. The visa was refused. The FBI had furnished the consulate with a statement contending that I was once a Communist. I proved that this charge was false. Mr. Norman Thomas—who knows me well—attested that I never had anything to do with the Communist Party. But the FBI and the consulate stuck to their lie. Later I tried to obtain from the United States Attorney General a "temporary admission," but the consul in Paris refused to forward the request to the Department of Justice under the pretense that I would use a temporary permit to stay for good.

My wife does not dare to leave the United States to visit me for fear she will not be allowed to return.

I am an enemy of the Kremlin, and I wholeheartedly agree with Senator McMahon that every effort should be made to break down the Iron Curtain. But at the same time I am just as much against an Atlantic Curtain. The attitude taken toward me does much more harm to the ideals for which America is fighting than any of the views I express in my book about concentration of wealth in the United States.

Paris DANIEL GUERIN

On a Divided Germany

Dear Sirs: In Professor Mosely's excellent review of the symposium, "Germany and the Future of Europe," he makes two statements with which I must reluctantly take issue. He says:

1. "All of the participants assume an indefinite continuance of armed truce between East and West and hence a prolonged division of Germany into two increasingly divergent parts."

The fact is that this participant made precisely the opposite assumption. See pages 152-55.

2. "None of the contributors makes more than a passing reference to the risk that a rearmed Germany may attempt to use the power of a Western alliance to recover the Soviet zone and perhaps the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse."

Perhaps the paragraph at the end of page 154 in which this contributor pointed out the dangers inherent in German rearmament is nothing more than a "passing reference." The fact is, however, that this contributor fully shares Professor Mosely's anxiety and has in many published writings elaborated precisely the danger against which he warns.

Being in a minority among the contributors to the volume, I heartily welcome Professor Mosely's criticism and regret only that he failed to discover that his views were shared in at least one small section of the work.

New York JAMES P. WARBURG

Dear Sirs: In pages 152-55 of "Germany and the Future of Europe" Mr. James P. Warburg makes several trenchant criticisms of the post-1945 division of Germany and urges that there can be "no united Europe without a united Germany." I did not find in these pages any definite proposals for overcoming the present division of Germany, and it seemed to me that elsewhere Mr. Warburg discussed primarily the problem of what to do about *Western* Germany, in which Americans have considerable responsibility and some influence.

Cuttingsville, Vt. PHILIP E. MOSELY

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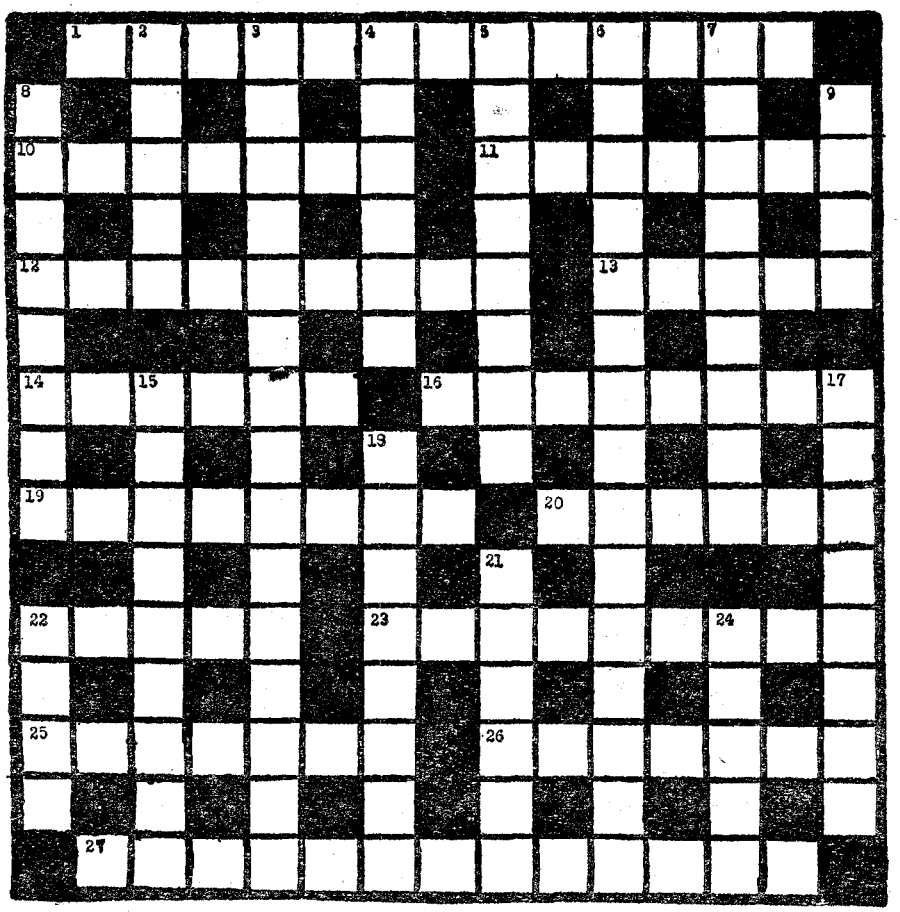
Crossword Puzzle No. 428

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What department heads hold at Peabody and Juilliard? (7, 6)
10 City of the West? No, South! (7)
11 Am I a car? Personally, I can't understand it! (7)
12 Joining up after I leave the military profession? (9)
13 Yours might be old before me in good season. (5)
14 Is the carnival cancelled? It's not cricket! (2, 4)
16 Never eat it, if you don't like to weaken. (8)
19 We are each year by presidential decree. (8)
20 Produced by some agency. (6)
22 Jose certainly doesn't go soft - - - he take a new name. (5)
23 Forearmed bed with a heavy end, but it'll blow. (9)
25 Clear and shrill. (7)
26 Is Jimmy unrated? (7)
27 The thing that sometimes keeps a round from being flat. (13)

DOWN

2 Habitual. (5)
3 I think of cement, I find, as barely on hand. (2, 3, 4, 2, 4)
4 I need a good story for a change. (6)
5 Carrying an account of what the 600 were doing. (8)
6 Navigation is merely! (1, 6, 2, 6)
7 One might be at the count of three. (9)
8 Wheeze. (8)
9 Each is a symptom of confusion. (4)
15 Advisors to the admiral in Arizona. (9)
17 If you're over this, you're likely to be attacked. (8)
18 The novelist is opening up around the drive. (8)
21 Does an anagram of them? Positively! (6)
22 Union man? (4)
24 Medicine of note. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 427

ACROSS:—1 ALL IN GOOD TIME; 10 TRYST; 11 EROTICISM; 12 INFERENCE; 13 LOSER; 14 REPOSSESSING; 19 and 27 THERE'S NO FOOL LIKE AN OLD FOOL; 22 DEPOT; 24 PEPPER POT; 25 ENCIRCLED; 26 ELLEN.

DOWN:—2 LAY-OFF; 3 INTERCEDE; 4 GREENHORN; 5 OZONE; 6 TWILL; 7 MAINSAIL; 8 STAIN; 9 and 18 AMERIGO VESPUCCI; 15 SOFT PEDAL; 16 STONE-DEAF; 17 STUDDED; 20 APOLLO; 21 ATONE; 23 TARGE; 24 PYLON.

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